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**Isaiah at Qumran:
Updating W.H. Brownlee's
*The Meaning of the Qumrân
Scrolls for the Bible***

George J. Brooke

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Isaiah at Qumran:

Updating W.H. Brownlee's

*The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible*¹

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I. Introduction

Like many who knew and worked with him, I have lasting and very affectionate memories of Bill Brownlee, and I owe the direction of my own scholarly career almost entirely to him. Although Bill Brownlee was one of the first Americans to work on the editing of the scrolls which were brought to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in the spring of 1948,² and even though he was subsequently responsible for the preliminary edition of 11QEzekiel,³ he is seldom listed amongst the roll call of those scholars worldwide who have contributed to the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls in principal editions. Partly to set the record straight, when I worked with two friends on producing a popular illustrated book on the scrolls which was published in the spring of 2002, I was determined that amongst the photographs there should be at least one with Bill Brownlee in it; in the end we managed to have the publishers include two.⁴

¹ This essay is a slightly adjusted form of the 20th Annual Brownlee Memorial Lecture, presented on April 10, 2003 at Claremont Graduate University. George J. Brooke studied with William H. Brownlee from 1974 to 1977, writing his doctoral dissertation on 4QFlorilegium. That dissertation was later published in a revised form as *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985); it was published as volume 2 in the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity's Dead Sea Scrolls Project, Brownlee's own work on the Habakkuk Commentary from Cave 1 being volume 1: W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979). On the Institute's Dead Sea Scrolls Project see W. H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," in J. M. Robinson and others, "The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity," *NTS* 16 (1969–70): 193–94; W. H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," *Annual Report 1969–70 and 1970–71: Bulletin of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity* 3 (1972): 20–21; W. H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity Report 1972–80* (ed. M. W. Meyer; Claremont, Calif.: The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1981), 13–14. Published after Brownlee's death, Brooke's *Exegesis at Qumran* contained the dedication, "In memory of William H. Brownlee, Christian, scholar, friend." Brooke also compiled Brownlee's bibliography for and contributed an essay to the Brownlee memorial volume: C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (SBL Homage Series 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). Brooke is now Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at the University of Manchester, England.

² See especially M. Burrows, ed., with the assistance of J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Volume 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950); M. Burrows, ed., with the assistance of J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Volume 2, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951); W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10–12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

³ W. H. Brownlee, "The Scroll of Ezekiel from the Eleventh Qumran Cave," *RevQ* 4 (1963–64): 11–28. The principal edition was subsequently composed by E. D. Herbert, "11QEzekiel," in *Qumran Cave 11.1: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 15–28.

⁴ P. R. Davies, G. J. Brooke, and P. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 33, 85.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially those in eleven caves at and near Qumran between 1947 and 1956, has stimulated fresh directions of research in many areas of biblical studies, not least in the study of the transmission of the texts of those authoritative scriptures which were subsequently to become canonical for Jews and Christians. As is well known, the scrolls in the Qumran caves are commonly divided into three groups. About a quarter of the manuscripts contain compositions which are considered to reflect the life of the community that lived at Qumran and the wider movement of which it was a part; these are commonly labelled as "sectarian." About half the manuscripts contain general Jewish literature of the late Second Temple period, though the selection in the Qumran caves is notably consistent in its outlook and was no doubt in the caves because for the most part the sectarians were sympathetic to it; several of these compositions are in Aramaic, some of them, like parts of the Enoch writings, were known in some form before the discovery of the scrolls, but most are previously unknown non-sectarian Jewish literature of the period.

The third category, about a quarter of the extant manuscripts, are the so-called "biblical" scrolls, though if the label "biblical" is understood as something in a fixed list and in a single text-type, then it is somewhat anachronistic. These "biblical" scrolls show two things which have to be held in tension: on the one hand they demonstrate that the texts of the Hebrew scriptures found in early medieval manuscripts are remarkably continuous with what was around a thousand years before, but on the other hand these manuscripts contain numerous variants both major and minor which show that for many books there were two or more textual editions in circulation in the centuries before a particular text-type was selected for each chosen canonical book. It is this variety which has stimulated new research on the history of the transmission of the biblical text, not least in a fresh consideration of the LXX and the other versions.⁵ Variants in those versional traditions are no longer so readily considered to be the responsibility of the translators, but are more commonly recognised as belonging to the history of the transmission of the Hebrew texts from which the translators variously worked.

The scrolls from cave 1 of the Book of Isaiah (1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b) were the first "biblical" manuscripts to pose challenges to text critics and others.⁶ J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee were both at the American School in Jerusalem when the scroll was brought

⁵ As has been outlined for Isaiah most especially by A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); "The Old Greek of Isaiah in Relation to the Qumran Texts of Isaiah: Some General Comments," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1992), 195–213; "Isaiah in the Septuagint," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 513–29. See also, most recently, F. Wilk, "'Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem' (Jes 1 LXX): Zur Eigenart der Septuaginta-Version des Jesajabuches," in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie* (ed. W. Kraus and K.-W. Niebuhr; WUNT 162; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 15–35.

⁶ See especially M. Burrows, ed., with the assistance of J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery: Volume 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New

there in February 1948: Trever's excellent photographs of the so-called Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a) have been reproduced many times and used as a reference point for the study of the scroll, while Brownlee developed a long-standing interest in Isaiah at Qumran which went in several directions, not least being his concern to show how Isaiah was read in the late Second Temple period by Jews and early Christians alike.⁷ With those matters in mind, this essay has six short parts: some initial quotations from the Brownlee archive on the events surrounding the arrival of the Great Isaiah scroll at the American School (now the Albright Institute) in Jerusalem; a few comments on the recently published Isaiah manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4; some remarks on the form of Isaiah as it is presented in all these manuscripts; some observations on Isaiah, parabiblical literature and the pesharim; and some discussion of how the understanding of a part of Isaiah might have changed during the life of the Essene movement; and some few notes by way of example on the suitable reading of Isaiah in the New Testament in light of what we now know from the scrolls.

II. Isaiah at Qumran

A. Unpublished Background to Isaiah from Qumran

In intermittently working through all of W. H. Brownlee's letters and papers in recent years,⁸ two items come readily to mind as of interest for the history of the study of the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a). They concern the events surrounding the first visits to the American School in Jerusalem of the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a).

The first item is a piece of personal correspondence which gives a fascinating glimpse of first encounters with the scrolls fifty-five years ago; it is from Brownlee in Jerusalem to his fiancée, Louise, in Abbeyville, Kansas.

Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950); M. Burrows, ed., with the assistance of J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Volume 2, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

⁷ See especially, from the 1950s, W. H. Brownlee, "The Text of Isaiah VI 13 in the light of DSIa," *VT* 1 (1951): 296-98; "The Manuscripts of Isaiah from which DSIa was Copied," *BASOR* 127 (1952): 16-21; "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I," *BASOR* 132 (1953): 8-15; "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls II," *BASOR* 135 (1954): 33-38; "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament I," *NTS* 3 (1956-57): 12-30; "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament II," *NTS* 3 (1956-57): 195-210.

⁸ All of W. H. Brownlee's unpublished letters and papers, together with other items pertaining to the scrolls and his other scholarly activities, such as his participation in the dig at Shechem under G. E. Wright, have been put together in an archive in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. An annotated catalog has been prepared by D. D. Swanson. Materials in the archive are published here with the permission of Martha Brownlee-Terry, executor for the literary estate of her parents.

February 23, 1948

Dearest Louise,

I have exciting news for you which will yet echo round the world, but which must not become common knowledge. The oldest Biblical manuscript has probably been found. February 19 while I was on a brief visit to the American Colony, some Syrian monks called and asked for me, but saw John Trever instead. They had some very old scrolls which had been in their library for forty years which they wanted to be identified. According to their story, about forty years ago some Bedu near the Dead Sea found them in a cave high up in the hills above the sea near Ein Feshkha. They were enclosed in jars after being wrapped heavily with cloth. John got to see the manuscripts but briefly, but got the impression of genuineness. He copied out a portion of one of the scrolls and discovered that it was part of Isaiah. The next day he called at the Monastery and made arrangements for the men to bring the scrolls to the school the following day to be carefully photographed. He had supposed that we could complete the job in three hours, but with 3½ hrs work the task was not complete and we asked the bishop of the convent (Botros Salmi) and his attendants to stay for lunch. About 4 P.M. we had photographed completely the text of two scrolls [1QIsa^a; 1QpHab]. ... The largest scroll is about twenty-four feet long and ten and a quarter inches high. It contains the entire text of Isaiah. ... The material upon which they are written is parchment. The style of writing classifies them as very ancient. We have been searching various sources for samples of the oldest forms of letters. The material for dating is scanty, but from the samples we have seen the manuscripts may be safely dated between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. They may be as old as the ministry of Christ. The scribe seems to have written in a transitional period when more than one style was being employed for writing. He was familiar with both very ancient and recent documents. Some of the letters look like those made in the third and even the fifth century B.C. Many fit the second century B.C. Still others seem to fit the Herodian period. In the same paragraph two or three variations of the same letter occur. This complicates the problem of dating. I have read twelve verses of Isaiah, sufficient to know that the text is very important for establishing the true text of the book. This is the first great Biblical manuscript find in Palestine. ... A word of this must not be breathed under circumstances that would lead the press to publicize the fact of the discovery. Premature publication may make the monks of the monastery uncooperative, or it may imperil the safety of the manuscript in these chaotic times. We await the printing of the films before we can give real study to the manuscript.⁹

⁹ The material in the letter which is not cited here provides brief descriptions of the state of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and the extra time need to photograph it. There is also mention of the impossibility of opening the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) and there are a few comments on the earliest Hebrew and Greek exemplars of complete biblical books known before the discovery of the scrolls.

Here we read a love letter of an entirely different sort from those I used to send back to England during my second year as a graduate student in Claremont! Louise must have been accustomed to receiving such missives which read more like scholarly notes. In several ways this is the very first article written on the Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a) and, in terms of how one should proceed with producing editions of manuscripts, it is significant that Brownlee notes the scroll's dimensions and has already completed a preliminary palaeographical analysis to assist in the dating of the manuscript. It is also not surprising that he and Trever discovered rapidly that taking good photographs of scrolls is a far more time-consuming affair than often realised.

Also in the Brownlee archive are several different versions of a popular introduction to the scrolls that was never finished and remains largely unpublished. In a draft for a chapter on the scrolls in Jerusalem, some elements of which have appeared in an earlier form in the *Duke Divinity School Bulletin*,¹⁰ there is a very vivid description of those heady days in mid-February at the American School in Jerusalem which deserves wider dissemination now in an abbreviated form. In this subsequent write-up for a popular audience one senses Brownlee's frustration at missing an important telephone call and at taking too long running errands the following afternoon, together with some slight annoyance at Trever for having made the initial firm identification on the basis of a prompt from him. This story covers February 18 and 19, 1948.

On February 18, I determined to go out and purchase wrapping paper to have available for packaging certain of my belongings in order to be able to send them out of the country at a moment's notice. ... I returned to the school about supper time and was met at the school by the Arab servants informing me that a telephone call had come for me during the day and that when they reported that they were unable to find me, the man had asked for the director of the school and was referred to John C. Trever whom Burrows had appointed "Acting Director" before his departure for Bagdad on Sunday before. I had been tactfully appointed "Assistant Acting Director", since the two of us were to work together in seeing about the affairs of the school during his brief absence. By the time I had cleaned up and reached the dining hall, the evening meal was underway, and Trever was explaining to certain guests of the school about the telephone call which he received and the strange claim of the Syrian monk that the St. Mark's Monastery had in its possession ancient scrolls going back to the time of Christ. He also mentioned the hour of his appointment to see the scrolls the next day. Although he was skeptical of the issue, he thought it wise to look into the matter. I overheard this, I was never informed directly about it; but I knew this was the telephone call intended for me and I longed for the opportunity to see the scrolls the next afternoon when they were to be brought to the school.

¹⁰ W. H. Brownlee, "My Eight Years of Scroll Research," *Duke Divinity School Bulletin* 21 (1956-57): 68-81.

Early the next afternoon I decided there would be time to run some errands before the scrolls appeared. By the ever increasing gunfire it seemed that our time was running out and I should make every minute count. ...

Once back at the school I checked the door of the school office to see if Trever were interviewing those bringing the scrolls. They were not there! I went up stairs to his room, and he was not there. I tidied myself a bit in my own room and Trever appeared at my door with the news. Two Syrians had brought the scrolls for examination and had taken them away with them in a taxi. They had been in the hallway of the Annual Professor's wing using the telephone to call the taxi upon my arrival. He told me all about the interview, how he had been shown five scrolls, and showed me two lines of text which he had copied. Now he must sit down and identify this text without delay. He rejected my offer to help him, but permitted me to copy his transcription (getting farther and farther from the original) and to work independently at the decipherment and identification. I commented to him that l'lo which occurred twice was a very unusual combination. Before retiring to my room I carefully questioned him: "Did not the man have any idea as to what scroll this was?" The reply was that one of the men indicated his "guess" that the largest of the five scrolls which they brought was Isaiah; but he hastened to assure me that their "guess" was of no value since they could not read the document. All I had available in my room for locating the passage was a small Hebrew dictionary which gave no references, and an English concordance. It was hard to make out the words; but within a very few minutes Trever burst into my room all excited. He had identified the passage as Isaiah 65:1 by checking all the references to l'lo ("to not") in the large Hebrew dictionary which he had borrowed from the library for his use in identifying Old Testament texts. It was sometime afterward, Trever relates,¹¹ that the irony of the passage impressed itself upon him: "I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not!" Here in the school where we could not venture out to make new discoveries, the discoveries themselves sought us out. For my part, they have been seeking me out ever since with ever-renewed research problems that have thrust themselves upon me; and a flood of scholarly mail from round the world, bearing offprints of foreign scholars, keeps coming in, so that right now I have a large deep drawer of recent publications which I have not had the time to study thoroughly. This I am a bit ashamed to admit; but a man has to make a living, and he has to meet academic and domestic responsibilities, and study books and articles unrelated to the scrolls, and still try to answer the avalanche of scholarly mail.¹²

¹¹ J. C. Trever recounts the same incidents from his own perspective and recalls subsequent conversations with Brownlee about those days in February 1948; see his *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood: Revell; London: Pickering and Inglis, 1965), 21–27.

¹² This is from a draft chapter entitled "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Ferment of Biblical Scholarship," catalogued as BRO/2/2/7/2 in the Brownlee Archive.

B. Isaiah Scrolls from the Qumran Caves ¹³

When W. H. Brownlee published his major work on Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible with Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah*,¹⁴ in 1964, little information about the large collection of Isaiah manuscripts from Cave 4 had been made known.¹⁵ Forty years later, the situation is very different. With one or two exceptions, virtually every fragment from all eleven caves at or near Qumran which have produced manuscripts has been published in a principal edition. Even those few manuscripts which have not yet been presented in such a format have become available in preliminary editions and have been accessible to scholars for over a decade through photograph collections such as the one at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont. There is a wealth of new information and it is intriguing to wonder what Bill Brownlee would have made of it all.

(1) The most significant additional information on Isaiah at Qumran is undoubtedly the collection of up to twenty-one separate copies of Isaiah which have survived the ravages of time in the Qumran caves, eighteen of which come from cave 4.¹⁶ Not all of these manuscripts, some of which are extant in only a few small fragments, are definitely copies of the whole book of Isaiah. However, it is not unreasonable that there are now several preliminary studies of the textual status of Isaiah in the Qumran library in light of these manuscripts.¹⁷ The results of these have recently been summarised by J. C.

¹³ For a brief overview of Isaiah scrolls at Qumran see E. Ulrich, "Isaiah, Book of," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 384–88.

¹⁴ W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible with Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah* (The James W. Richard Lectures in Christian Religion Given at the University of Virginia; New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

¹⁵ The first secure information on the Cave 4 Isaiah manuscripts was made known by F. J. Morrow, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1973); and by P. W. Skehan, "Littérature de Qumrân: A) Textes bibliques," *DBSup* 9 (1978): 805–22.

¹⁶ 1QIsa^a: see now D. W. Parry and E. Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)—A New Edition* (STDJ 32; Leiden: Brill, 1999); 1QIsa^b: see E. L. Sukenik, *Otsar ha-megilot ha-genuzot* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik and the Hebrew University, 1954); 4Q55–4Q69b: see P. W. Skehan and E. Ulrich, "Isaiah," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross, et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 7–143; 5Q3: J. T. Milik, "Isaïe," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân: Exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 173. For a recent list of all the passages of Isaiah still extant in these scrolls see E. Ulrich, "An Index to the Contents of the Isaiah Manuscripts from the Judean Desert," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 477–80, and E. Ulrich, "D. The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: 2. Index of Passages in the 'Biblical Texts,'" in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov et al.; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 192–94.

¹⁷ See, for example, the authoritative study by E. Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 491–511. Tov concludes: "As expected, all the sources of Isaiah differ from each other, but the degree of their differentiation is not very extensive. The number of the proto-Masoretic texts is remarkable. If the two texts written in

VanderKam and P. W. Flint: "For the book of Isaiah the scrolls and other ancient witnesses preserve apparently only one edition, with no consistent patterns of variant readings or rearrangements. Some manuscripts are especially close to the Masoretic text: 1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^a, 4QIsa^b, 4QIsa^d, 4QIsa^e, 4QIsa^f, and 4QIsa^g. Other scrolls, most notably 1QIsa^a (and 4QIsa^c), contain many highly instructive variants from the traditional form of the Hebrew text, which offer valuable insights on the late stages of the book's composition and provide many improved readings."¹⁸

It is clear from the early study of the Great Isaiah scroll that while scholars were initially much stirred by its variant readings, very soon it was being classified overall as a vulgar text.¹⁹ As one scholar has remarked, at least among manuscripts and text traditions, being labelled vulgar is no recommendation.²⁰ It is to be hoped that the publication of all the cave four Isaiah manuscripts will lead to detailed analysis of all the Isaiah scrolls and the reinstatement of the Great Isaiah scroll as a significant exemplar of the text.²¹ There are already some signs of such a move being made.²² In a most extensive fashion the two-volume translation and analysis by O. H. Steck has asked a number of questions of the scroll, some of which were indeed asked by the first generation of Qumran scholars, but which do indeed need to be asked again.²³ His questions especially include whether close examination of the scribal marks and layout of the text

the 'Qumran scribal practice,' 1QIsa^a and 4QIsa^e, were copied from a text like the proto-Masoretic texts, they ultimately reflect the same text. This pertains also to the Hebrew parent text of the LXX. Therefore, the known texts do not differ from each other *recensionally*."

¹⁸ J. C. VanderKam and P. W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 131–32. This summary is based in part on Flint's detailed listing of the materials on Isaiah in "The Isaiah Scrolls from the Judean Desert," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 481–89, and in "The Book of Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 229–51.

¹⁹ The variant readings of 1QIsa^a were famously declared to be "worthless" by H. M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll IV," *JQR* 43 (1952–53): 329–40, esp. 340.

²⁰ J. Høgenhaven, "The Isaiah Scroll and the Composition of the Book of Isaiah," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSUP 290; Copenhagen International Seminar 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 152.

²¹ For some comments on the rather limited use made of 1QIsa^a in modern English translations, see H. Scanlin, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Translations of the Old Testament* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers, 1993), 126–32.

²² See, for example, E. Ulrich, "The Developmental Composition of the Book of Isaiah: Light from 1QIsa^a on Additions in the MT," *DSD* 8 (2001): 288–305, who has argued that 1QIsa^a witnesses to the "original text" most frequently; an argument repeated in E. Ulrich, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus," in *Congress Volume Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 89–90. See also M. Abegg, "1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b: a Rematch," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 221–28: "On the basis of the orthographic practice used, it is not likely that 1QIsa^b is a direct descendant or ancestor of the scroll whose offspring survives in MT. ... 1QIsa^a, on the other hand, might have descended directly from either the family of MT or of 1QIsa^b" (p. 227).

²³ O. H. Steck, *Die erste Jesajarolle von Qumran (1QIsa): Schreibweise als Leseanteile für ein Prophetenbuch* (SBS 173; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998).

can improve the understanding of how a late second temple scribe understood the prophetic book. Or again, in a recent article, E. Tov has designated several biblical scrolls from Qumran as *de luxe*; in layout and material the Great Isaiah Scroll seems to qualify as such a scroll, though in the end, on the basis of the large number of corrections that it contains, Tov concludes that it is not.²⁴

(2) The second issue of importance concerns the variants themselves. Put simply the matter is whether any of the so-called biblical manuscripts from the Qumran caves contain sectarian variants, readings which would be peculiar to the Qumran community or the wider movement of which it was a part and which would by their very content exclude other Jewish readers from being able to acknowledge the authority of the version. The classic example of a sectarian form of the biblical text is the Samaritan Pentateuch which privileges Mount Gerizim over any other place of worship in a few of its readings. Perhaps out of concern not to introduce the possibility of sectarian readings into their work, the editors of the principal editions of the Isaiah manuscripts from Cave 4 deliberately omitted from consideration any of the quotations of Isaiah which are found in the Isaiah pesharim, the running sectarian commentaries on Isaiah which come from Caves 3 and 4.²⁵

Part of W. H. Brownlee's enthusiastic interest in the Great Isaiah scroll was driven by his analysis of certain variants which he identified as implicitly sectarian, as being entirely in tune with the outlook of the members of the Qumran community, if not actually introduced by them. The classic example of this involves the reading of the verbal form *māshaṭī* in Isa 52:14 of 1QIsa^a. Over against the standard Masoretic reading corrected to *mōshhāth*, "marred," Brownlee and others have produced a translation such as "I so anointed his appearance beyond anyone else."²⁶ Brownlee supported his particular reading and interpretation of the text by reference to the sectarian compositions such as the *Rule of the Community* where he reckoned to find a similar understanding reflected in much that was written. In fact, Brownlee reached his understanding of 1QIsa^a's Isa 52:14 only after a period in which he had reckoned it to be a scribal error; comparison with the motif of "sprinkling" in the *Rule of the Community* convinced him otherwise.

²⁴ E. Tov, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert—An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 160.

²⁵ For the view that this is erring on the side of caution see G. J. Brooke, "The Qumran Pesharim and the Text of Isaiah in the Cave 4 Manuscripts," in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (ed. A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg; JSOTSup 333; Hebrew Bible and its Versions 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 304–20.

²⁶ *The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible*, 205; part of a chapter which revises and expands his earlier articles "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I," *BASOR* 132 (1953): 8–15, and "Certainly Masaṭī!" *BASOR* 135 (1954): 33–38. The first to propose this understanding was D. Barthélemy, "La grand rouleau d'Isaïe trouvé près de la Mer Morte," *RB* 57 (1950): 530–49, at 546–47; Barthélemy was concerned to see whether messianic readings could be discerned which might have been altered by later Jews to inhibit Christian use of Isaiah.

Recently E. C. Ulrich has revisited the issue of sectarian variants in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran.²⁷ For 1QIsa^a, which is the prime candidate amongst the Isaiah scrolls, he considers three possible sectarian variants, the reading in Isa 44:25 of *yskl* (יִסְכַּל; with samek) in 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^b, and the LXX, "to render their knowledge foolish;" over against *yškl* (יִשְׁכַּל; with a šin) in the MT, "to render their knowledge wise." Since this particular lexeme, *škl* (שָׁכַל; with šin) is thematic of community identity through word play, it might be concluded that there is a sectarian reading in the manuscripts here to avoid the use of the term.²⁸ But Ulrich points out that what modern readers perceive as a word play could simply be the result of the confusion of sibilants in the process of transmission, resulting in a minor lapse. The fact that sometimes there is word play in scripture itself is certainly capitalised upon in the sectarian compositions, and indeed there are instances where variants in the biblical manuscripts are used to sectarian ends,²⁹ but that is not the same as saying that the variants have been deliberately introduced into the scriptural text to exclude certain readers. It could even be the case that in this instance the variant arises out of a consonantal shift under the influence of Aramaic *skl* (סָכַל), "to be wise."

Or again, for Ulrich the famous and infamous reading in Isa 53:11 of "he will see" (יִרְאֶה) in the MT without any expressed object over against "he will see light" (אֹרֶה יִרְאֶה) in 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^b, and the LXX should not be understood as indicative of sectarian intervention, even though light plays a significant role in the self-designation of the community as "sons of light." This is because it is likely that, when probable parallelism is taken into account,³⁰ then none of the witnesses seems to preserve the original text; furthermore the wide attestation of "he will see light" (1QIsa^b and LXX) undermines the opinion that here there is a particular intervention from a section of the Essene movement.

Or, lastly, Ulrich considers the proposal that 1QIsa^a contains the kind of actualising exegesis characteristic of the pesharim. In Isa 41:22 1QIsa^a reads "the last things" (אֲחֵרֵינוּ) over against MT's "their end" (אֲחֵרֵיהֶם); since the Qumran community understood itself to be living in the last days, Ulrich asks whether 1QIsa^a provides evidence of a sectarian variant. Given the occurrence of similar variants elsewhere in the scroll (Isa 47:7), and that the variation to the scroll does not seem to be undertaken in any thoroughgoing way, it is actually safer to conclude that nothing particular should be read into the variant in Isa 41:22.

²⁷ E. Ulrich, "The Absence of 'Sectarian Variants' in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 179–95, esp. 183–85.

²⁸ See J. E. Harding, "The Wordplay between the Roots שָׁכַל and בָּשַׁל in the literature of the *Yahad*," *RevQ* 19 (1999): 69–82.

²⁹ E.g., 1QpHab 11:8–14 (on Hab 2:16) contains use of both the MT's "uncircumcised" (הָעֵרֶל) and what may lie behind the LXX reading of "staggering" (הָרַעַל); most recently described and discussed by T. H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 50.

³⁰ The parallelism at issue here involves רִאֵה in the first hemistich and שָׂבַע, "be satisfied," in the second hemistich; Ulrich prefers to read the first verb as from רָוַה, "be filled, saturated," along with D. Winton Thomas, the editor of *BHS* Isaiah, who suggested the reading in a footnote.

As a result of these technical text-critical investigations it has become increasingly apparent that there are no sectarian variants in 1QIsa^a or, for that matter, in any of the Isaiah scrolls from Qumran.³¹ The same can be said with a large measure of confidence about the rest of the so-called biblical manuscripts from Qumran: they do not contain sectarian exegetical interventions.³² As a result, it is becoming increasingly important for all the variants in the Qumran scriptural scrolls to be considered on a much more equal footing than has generally become the case. Even E. Tov, who had begun by fairly insisting that each Qumran manuscript should be understood at the outset as an independent witness to the transmission of its contents, has increasingly come to minimise the significance of several scrolls by putting them together in a category of copies of scriptural books presented according to Qumran scribal practices.³³ The time has come to challenge such categorisation³⁴ and, with regard to 1QIsa^a, to bring it back into the debate about the transmission of Isaiah in late second temple times. That will allow that some of the insights into its variant readings of the first generation of Qumran scholars be given a hearing once again, but without recourse to explanations for such variants on the basis of sectarian ideological intervention in the manuscripts themselves.

C. The Form of Isaiah

Many of the first generation of scrolls scholars made ground-breaking analyses of the language of the scrolls,³⁵ and for the biblical manuscripts which had become available various very influential theories were circulating from early on about how textual affiliations should be reconsidered in light of all the new information.³⁶ Brownlee

³¹ D. Green, "4QIsa^c: A Rabbinic Production of Isaiah Found at Qumran," *JJS* 53 (2002): 120–45, has argued persuasively that the scribal habits concerning the divine titles attested in 4QIsa^a are further evidence of ideological presuppositions shared with Judaism very broadly.

³² As I concluded in my short study "E pluribus unum: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T. H. Lim, L. W. Hurtado, A. G. Auld, A. Jack; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 107–19: "there is nothing particularly distinctive or sectarian about the pluralism of the biblical texts as discernible in the Qumran caves" (p. 119).

³³ See, especially, E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2nd edn, 2001), 107–11, 114.

³⁴ Tov's view has been rightly criticised by O. H. Steck on the basis of the layout of the text of Isaiah in each Isaiah manuscript; there seems to be nothing out of the ordinary in the way those written in so-called "Qumran Scribal Practice" are laid out: see O. H. Steck, "Bemerkungen zur Abschnittgliederung in den Jesaja-Handschriften aus der Wüste Juda: Ein Vergleich auf der Grundlage von 1QIsa^a," in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel* (ed. U. Dahmen, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 53–90, p. 87.

³⁵ For Isaiah, see especially E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974); E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (Indices and corrections by E. Qimron; STDJ 6a; Leiden: Brill, 1979).

³⁶ The principal theories were put together by F. M. Cross and S. Talmon in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975). That volume contained two essays devoted exclusively to Isaiah: J. Ziegler, "Die Vorlage der Isaias-Septuaginta (LXX) und die erste Isaias-Rolle von Qumran (1QIsa^a)," 90–115 [reprinted from *JBL* 78 (1959): 34–59]; and S. Talmon, "DSIa as a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah," 116–26 [reprinted from *ASTI* 1 (1962): 62–72].

took part in these debates extensively too, but he was one of the few scholars who was also concerned with the actual layout of the text on the manuscript. To be sure, the marginal marks in 1QIsa^a provoked several studies, but with regard to the form of Isaiah, observations are worth making on the bisection of the scroll and its overall paragraphing.

(1) On the bisection of the scroll the most detailed observations were those Brownlee published on this topic after having delivered a paper at the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in 1960.³⁷ Most modern readers of Isaiah are educated to think of a major division in the book belonging between chapters 39 and 40. But "the gap between chapters 33 and 34 in the Complete Isaiah Scroll, together with orthographic peculiarities of each half, point to the practice of bisecting the Book of Isaiah into two scrolls: (1) chapters 1-33 and (2) chapters 34-66."³⁸ In 1928 C. C. Torrey, exceptionally amongst modern interpreters,³⁹ had argued that Isaiah 34-35 belonged to Second Isaiah, though he did not try to explain the presence of Isaiah 36-39 in their present position.⁴⁰ Brownlee proposed that the division of the Book of Isaiah in two between chapters 33 and 34 reflected an ancient understanding of the literary structure of the Book, so that each half was made up of seven parallel sections which he called:⁴¹

1. The Ruin and Restoration of Judah (1-5)//
Paradise Lost and Regained (34-35)
2. Biography (6-8//36-40)
3. Agents of Divine Blessing and Judgment (9-12)//
Agents of Deliverance and Judgment (41-45)
4. Anti-foreign Oracles (13-23)//
Anti-Babylonian Oracles (46-48)
5. Universal Judgment and the Deliverance of God's People (24-27)//
Universal redemption through the Lord's Servant, also the
Glorification of Israel (49-54)

³⁷ W. H. Brownlee, "The Literary Significance of the Bisection of Isaiah in the Ancient Scroll of Isaiah from Qumran," *Trudy Dvardsat Pyatogo Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov* (Tome 1; Moscow: Tzolatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatry, 1962), 431-37.

³⁸ Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible*, 247.

³⁹ Working with the standard reading of Isaiah as consisting of chapters 1-39 and 40-66, a recent sophisticated description of how Isaiah contains both thematic unity and theological development has been made by R. E. Clements, "The Davidic Covenant in the Isaiah Tradition," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39-69. On the overall issues concerned, including the consideration of a break at the end of Isaiah 33, see W. A. M. Beuken, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah: Another Attempt at Bridging the Gorge between its Two Main Parts," in *Reading from Right to Left: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J. A. Clines* (ed. J. C. Exum and H. G. M. Williamson; JSOTSup 373; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 50-62.

⁴⁰ C. C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah* (1928); P. Kahle (*Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1951], 72-77) was the first to suggest that 1QIsa^a had two parts, separated from one another between Isaiah 33 and 34, with the text of each part having different characteristics. Strangely, Brownlee observed (*The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible*, 247) that with such observations Kahle proposed that 1QIsa^a explicitly supported Torrey's theory, but Kahle never made that association in his 1951 work, though he does show knowledge of Torrey's work on Second Isaiah.

⁴¹ Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible*, 247-49.

6. Ethical Sermons, Indicting Israel and Judah (28-31)//

Ethical Sermons, the Ethical Conditions for Israel's redemption (56-59)

7. The Restoration of Judah and the Davidic Kingdom (32-33)//

Paradise Regained: The Glories of the New Jerusalem and the New Heavens and the New Earth (60-66)⁴²

It may be, as Brownlee pointed out for the Isaiah scroll and others have done in relation to various biblical and other classical compositions, that longer works were conceived in two sections, perhaps for the ease of putting them on scrolls that would not be overly bulky. For Isaiah there seems to be some ancient evidence that the Book was viewed as being made up of parts; Josephus describes Isaiah's prophecies as "left behind in books" (*Ant.* 10.35). In 1QIsa^a a distinct gap of at least three lines occurs at the bottom of column 27 at the end of a sheet of parchment and so seems to indicate that the Book was indeed conceived as made up of two "books." In addition to the evidence of 1QIsa^a itself, Brownlee argued that it was very likely that the two halves of the scroll had been copied from different exemplars, since there were several distinct features in each half of the scroll—the debate on these issues continues.⁴³

The overall form and structure of the Book of Isaiah has again been reconsidered by J. Høgenhaven.⁴⁴ He has failed to take note of Brownlee's insights and has attempted to use the Great Isaiah scroll to justify the scholarly division of the Book of Isaiah at chapter 40. However, along the way he has made two important observations that would seem to support Brownlee's approach. First he has noted that the distinct marginal marks are used at Isa 35:10/36:1; 39:8/40:1; 41:13/41:14; 44:28/45:1; 52:6/52:7; 59:21 and 60:1. In all cases these signs seem to mark a theologically important text division. However, he fails to see that the spread of these signs might indicate that they mark the end of sections, several of which correspond with the Brownlee analysis, even though Brownlee did not use the marginal marks to support his case. Second, Høgenhaven has noted that the oracle of chapter 40 would make much better sense if there was a narrative framework for it. Precisely so, and what Brownlee's analysis suggests is that the Isaiah scroll implies that the narrative preceding chapter 40 should be included in any understanding of how at least one scribal tradition understand the book to be composed. In other words, though overall

⁴² A similar pattern of thirty-three chapters in two parts has been proposed by A. Gileadi, "A Holistic Structure of the Book of Isaiah" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981), 14. See also J. A. Callaway, "Isaiah in Modern Scholarship," *RevExp* 65 (1968): 403-407; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1969), 787-89; C. A. Evans, "On the Unity and Parallel Structure of Isaiah," *VT* 38 (1988): 129-47. These views have been most explicitly criticised by R. H. O'Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah* (JSOTSup 188; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 18 note 1: "what one sees in these bifid models of the structure of Isaiah is not so much the result of close analysis of literary patterning as the result of thematic summarizations over broad sections of the book." It has to be said that O'Connell's own proposals are no more convincing and not even based on the way Isaiah is presented in a manuscript.

⁴³ See especially K. Richards, "A Note on the Bisection of Isaiah," *RevQ* 5 (1964-66): 257-58; R. L. Giese, "Further Evidence for the Bisection of 1QIsa," *Textus* 14 (1988): 61-70; J. Cook, "The Dichotomy of 1QIsaa," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honor of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Kraków: Enigma Press, 1992), 7-24.

⁴⁴ J. Høgenhaven, "The Isaiah Scroll and the Composition of Isaiah," 151-58, esp. pp. 156-57.

Høgenhaven's argument is otherwise, some of his observations actually lend weight to Brownlee's study nearly forty years earlier.

In a surprising way the evidence for the Books of Isaiah in the cave 4 manuscripts seems also to lend support to Brownlee's view of the bisection of the Book. In the DJD edition of these scrolls nothing is said about how extensive each might have been; perhaps under the influence of 1QIsa^a the editors simply assumed that each was likely to have been a complete scroll of the whole of Isaiah. However, it is surely remarkable that several cave 4 copies of Isaiah contain only portions from Isaiah chapters 1–33 (namely 4QIsa^a, 4QIsa^e, 4QIsa^f, 4QIsa^j, 4QIsa^k, 4QIsa^l, 4QIsa^o, 4QpapIsa^p, 4QIsa^r), while several others contain only portions from chapters 34–66 (4QIsa^d, 4QIsa^g, 4QIsa^h, 4QIsaⁱ, 4QIsa^m, 4QIsaⁿ, 4QIsa^q, 5QIsa^a). Of the fourth cave manuscripts, judging from the fragmentary evidence which survives, only 4QIsa^b and 4QIsa^c seem to have contained the whole book. Though much of this might be put down to accidents of survival, it seems remarkable enough to require further investigation, to see whether the extent of each manuscript can be determined. Furthermore, if two scribes wrote the two halves of 1QIsa^a, then we need to ask whether the dimensions of what remains in Cave 4 suggest that in some cases we may have discovered two fragmentary halves of the same scroll.

In a recent survey of Isaiah materials, P. W. Flint briefly considers the bi-section of the scroll, noting that the break occurs exactly at the end of column 27 of a 54 column scroll. Then he asks: "Could those who copied this scroll have seen some significance in the more universal emphasis on the nations found in Isaiah 34, and thus viewed chapters 1–33 and 34–66 as two parts of the book on the basis of content?"⁴⁵ Flint refers to Brownlee's Moscow article on the bisection of Isaiah in his footnotes, but he does not seem to be familiar with its contents, since Brownlee has already given a detailed and suggestive answer to the question.

(2) In addition to arguing that the bisection of the book was an ancient practical understanding going back well before the copy of the two books presented in 1QIsa^a, Brownlee asserted that the layout of the text on the manuscript was a significant clue to how modern critics might begin to interpret its various pericopae.⁴⁶ In this he was anticipating the comprehensively detailed work of O. H. Steck.⁴⁷ Some aspects of this approach which has been provoked in part by the scrolls, is now the preserve of those who work in the field of Delimitation Criticism whose insights are emerging from the

⁴⁵ P. W. Flint, "The Book of Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 236.

⁴⁶ Interestingly, Brownlee had made a start here in his unpublished work on portions of so-called Second Isaiah. Using both the paragraphing of 1QIsa^a and some indications from the variants in the scroll which implied different senses for some sections, Brownlee put together a new translation of Isaianic Zion songs. These he sent to Leonard Bernstein, enquiring whether he might consider them as a libretto for a composition—sadly the composer was too busy to take up the suggestion.

⁴⁷ See n. 21 above. In his German translation of 1QIsa^a Steck indicates precisely where the various spaces occur and the paragraph markers.

Netherlands in a new series called aptly *Pericope*.⁴⁸ So far the attention of scholars involved in this approach has been largely given over to the divisions presented in the various manuscripts of the MT.

However, for the part the complete set of Isaiah scrolls from Qumran may play in such study, E. Ulrich has made a start by offering some examples (Isa 19:15-16; 23:1-2; 34:9-10, 17) while wisely insisting that the evidence "is the production of the last person who copied the text, not necessarily of earlier copies; if one wishes to see in these final products the intentions or indications of original authors, there is a weighty burden of proof required to establish a continuous link."⁴⁹ Although an English translation of 1QIsa^a is now available, it is a pity that its editors do not seem to have made any attempt in their translation to represent the paragraphing of the text as it is on the manuscript.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it is good that a translation of 1QIsa^a alone can now take its place alongside those based on the MT and the LXX, in a way which allows for the integrity of the contents of the scroll to stand without them being harmonised into an eclectic text.

D. Isaiah, Rewritten Bible, and the Pesharim

On the basis of the scrolls that come from Qumran one of the most striking observations that has been made about the role of the prophets concerns Rewritten Bible compositions.⁵¹ In one sense the designation Rewritten Bible is entirely anachronistic, since in the second and first centuries B.C.E., although the Law and the Prophets had some kind of clear authority, there was no Bible as such. So to suggest that a genre of compositions at that time should be designated Rewritten Bible is somewhat out of place. Scholars are still at the beginning of defining both the genre and its purpose. Nevertheless, two schools of thought have emerged in defining the genre. One school takes a narrow view, insisting that so-called Rewritten Bible compositions should follow their scriptural antecedents closely, both in form and content. The other school of thought resists such a narrow definition and considers that the evaluation of the evidence in all these parabiblical compositions is so much in its infancy that it is premature to be too restrictive. For these scholars, Rewritten Bible is a much broader category.

However, whichever school of thought one happens to belong to, all scholars who have looked at the matter are agreed that in relation to the compositions which find their way eventually into that part of the Hebrew Bible known as the latter prophets there is a sharp distinction. On the one hand there are Isaiah and the Twelve Minor Prophets, on the other the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. For the former it is now commonly

⁴⁸ M. C. A. Korpel and J. M. Oesch (eds), *Delimitation Criticism: A New Tool for Biblical Scholarship* (Pericope 1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000).

⁴⁹ E. C. Ulrich, "Impressions and Intuition: Sense Division in Ancient Manuscripts of Isaiah," in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature* (ed. M. C. A. Korpel and J. M. Oesch; Pericope 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 279-307, p. 280.

⁵⁰ M. Abegg, P. Flint, E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 267-381.

⁵¹ See G. J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 777-81.

observed that there are no rewritten forms in any of the extant compositions from the Qumran library. For the latter, there are several increasingly well-known rewritten forms which have come to light and which are part of a history of the rewriting and reuse of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in antiquity which was already known about before the scrolls were discovered.

With Isaiah and the Twelve the situation is different. Not only is it the case that there are no rewritten forms of these books, but also it is only these books amongst the latter prophets which receive treatment as *pesher*, explicit running commentary formulaically introduced.⁵² There seems to be a correlation here: implicit interpretation through rewriting for Jeremiah and Ezekiel, explicit interpretation through commentary for Isaiah and the Twelve. How is this difference between the prophets to be explained? Since Isaiah is the most quoted prophet amongst the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls, and is used in at least five different running commentaries,⁵³ it seems as if the difference in the handling of the prophetic sources rests in some aspect of their authority and status, or at least in how that was recognised from generation to generation.

The matter is not straightforward. The books of the Law were evidently of an authority equal to or greater than that of Isaiah and the Twelve, but such authority does not prevent it from being subject to major rewritings as in the *Book of Jubilees* (which apparently carried its own authority for the Essenes), the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Temple Scroll*. A few possibilities emerge. First, within the Torah itself there is clear evidence of rewriting, most obviously in the way in which Deuteronomy replays various parts of Exodus; it may have been that such rewriting within what was understood as authoritative in a way gave permission for an ongoing practice of rewriting. The same may be implied in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; perhaps for these prophetic books there was an understanding that their works had been created over a period of time and that, as one Jeremiah scholar has put it,⁵⁴ they form a rolling corpus, which can then be carried on through the ongoing process of rewriting and reuse. Thus in a significant way the rewritings of authoritative works reveal the character of the authority of the works they rewrite.

But, second, what of Isaiah? Where there are no rewritings, and where the only running interpretation is to be found in explicit commentaries, something else must be at work. What emerges from the study of the cave four Isaiah manuscripts is a picture of a largely stable text tradition. Perhaps this stability is indicative of authoritative status gained at a relatively early stage in the second temple period. E. Ulrich has acknowledged the textual stability, that there was apparently only "a single basic edition of the book of Isaiah, but that individual manuscripts show a great deal of variation in individual textual

⁵² On the Isaiah *Pesharim* see G. J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the *Pesharim* and Other Qumran Texts," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–32.

⁵³ Conveniently accessible in M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 70–138, 260–61.

⁵⁴ W. McKane, *Jeremiah* (2 vols; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986).

variants and orthography.”⁵⁵ However, he goes on to suggest significantly that because the richly poetic texts of Isaiah had neither vocalization nor sentence division nor stichometric arrangement, it was possible for different communities to construe the same text in different ways. The very nature of the text and its presentation meant that there was no need for recensional activity.

And a third comment can also be made. Such relative textual stability seems to confirm the possibility that those who transmitted the text of Isaiah perceived it to be a literary unity. We have come full circle and are back to asserting the great significance of the paragraph divisions and lay out as attested in the Great Isaiah Scroll; though there may be a literary bisection, in fact that can be read as supporting rather than undermining the overall literary unity of the work, once some kind of literary structure as Brownlee has outlined is sympathetically observed.

There is much more work to be done on all this as the transmission history of each scriptural book becomes clearer. The lack of rewritten forms of Isaiah and the presence of Isaiah pesharim in the Qumran collection require further elucidation and explanation. It would, however, be misleading, if a fourth point was not also made, namely, that there do indeed exist a range of reworked forms of at least parts of Isaiah in works such as the *Ascension of Isaiah*,⁵⁶ but these seem to be of a rather different kind than the *Jeremiah Apocryphon*⁵⁷ or *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and perhaps are much later; in any case they are not found in the Qumran library, despite some scholars arguing for their quasi-Essene character.

E. Isaiah and the Changing Shape of the Qumran Community

The availability since 1991 of all the manuscripts from the Qumran caves has created a renaissance in Dead Sea Scrolls studies. From a period of relative calm on the scholarly shores of the Dead Sea in the 1970s and 1980s, the period since the publication of the complete library has resulted in a reinvigorated investigation of all manner of conundra.

⁵⁵ E. Ulrich, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Shrine of the Book, 2000), 51–59, 55.

⁵⁶ It has been convincingly argued that the *Ascension of Isaiah* is a Christian product of the first decades of the second century C.E.: A. Acerbi, *L’Ascensione di Isaia: Cristologia e profetismo in Siria nei primi decenni del II secolo* (Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 17; Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1989). For a helpful introduction see J. Knight, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). Knight notes that the text describes a wilderness community: “The Qumran sect saw itself in a similar light but nothing of substance connects the *Ascension of Isaiah* with that circle” (p. 51).

⁵⁷ For a detailed study with relevant bibliography see L. Doering, “Jeremia in Babylonien und Ägypten: mündliche und schriftliche Tora-paränese für Exil und Diaspora nach 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C,” in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie* (ed. W. Kraus and K.-W. Niebuhr; WUNT 162; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 50–79.

Amongst these studies the history of the community and of the sectarian compositions belonging to it has increasingly occupied centre stage. From the archaeological perspective the reconsideration of R. de Vaux's work and the recent reinstatement of some of his first impressions by J. Magness⁵⁸ has strongly suggested that the occupation of the Qumran site in the late second temple period probably did not take place until the first quarter of the first century B.C.E. As a result of this archaeological redating for the establishment of Qumran as a special building for part of the wider Essene movement, it has become important also to rethink the way in which some of the sectarian compositions in the library should be considered.

It is widely recognised that the majority of the leading sectarian writings, such as the *Rule of the Community* have complicated histories. Such histories consist of two parts. First, there is the history of the composition of the text.⁵⁹ Second, there is the history of each composition's recensions.⁶⁰ For the *Rule of the Community* this is complicated, because in addition to the Cave 1 copy, there are up to ten copies from Cave 4. The Cave 1 copy can be dated approximately to the first quarter of the first century B.C.E.; the Cave 4 copies which have significantly different content and imply a much less hierarchical community date from the second half of the first century B.C.E. Thus there seems to be some evidence to suggest that the community went through a process of reform and rejuvenation, and there was a move from hierarchy to something more egalitarian.

What might be said about the community's use of Isaiah in the context of this redating of the occupation of Qumran and the structural changes in the community during the first century B.C.E. which now seem apparent? The example to be considered briefly concerns the famous use of Isa 40:3, "Prepare in the wilderness the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a path for our God." In IQS 8:15-16 this is interpreted as follows: "This (path) is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit." Given that the *Rule of the Community* came to be compiled over several decades, it is entirely possible to envisage a period in which this text from Isaiah 40 functioned metaphorically, as its ensuing interpretation suggests, as motivation for the study of the Law in the expectation of the imminent eschatological arrival of the Lord. All this could take place before ever there was a Qumran site to be occupied.⁶¹

However, at a subsequent stage in the development of the Essene movement with the occupation of Qumran in the first quarter of the first century B.C.E., the text is reused with an additional literal force. The "preparation in the wilderness" is no longer simply a metaphor for separation "from all those who have not turned aside from all injustice"

⁵⁸ J. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002).

⁵⁹ J. Murphy-O'Connor has long argued that the *Rule of the Community* had a four-stage composition history: "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528-49.

⁶⁰ For the *Rule of the Community*, see especially P. S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437-56; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁶¹ IQS 8:15-16 belongs to what Murphy-O'Connor has suggested is the earliest form of the "Manifesto," in a pre-Qumran stage.

(1QS 9:20). The "preparation in the wilderness" has come to have literal referent and can be applied to the way in which some of the movement takes upon itself a move, for whatever reasons, to the actual wilderness. What was suitably taken metaphorically in one generation becomes significant literally in another.⁶² Thus a reconsideration of the history of the movement in light of the renewed understandings of the archaeology of Qumran produces new ways of perceiving how traditions, including the uses of Isaiah in the *Rule of the Community* (most especially Isa 40:3), seem to have changed as the composition shifted from one historical context to another.⁶³

F. Isaiah at Qumran and its Ramifications for the New Testament

Some considerable amount of study over the last fifty years has been devoted to comparing and contrasting the use of Isaiah in the sectarian scrolls with its use by the various authors of the books of the New Testament.⁶⁴ W. H. Brownlee was amongst the most prolific of writers in this area, producing well-known studies, most notably on the figure of the servant in both literary corpora.⁶⁵ The publication of the whole Qumran library now enables a fresh consideration of the topic.⁶⁶ Up to now much of the discussion has been carried out within a framework that was exercised with the issue of how much Essene influence there might be on Jesus and his movement, and on the writings of the New Testament. Since the majority of the scrolls from Qumran are really non-sectarian, comparative questions can now be asked from a much larger frame of reference.

Two brief examples must suffice.

(1) 4Q500 and the Parable of the Vineyard⁶⁷

4Q500 appears to be a non-sectarian composition. Its small principal fragment

⁶² As I have argued in more detail elsewhere: G. J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117–32.

⁶³ There is little recent work on the use of individual scriptural books in the sectarian literature, such as Brownlee's, *The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible*. For the place of Isaiah in CD 1–8, 19–20, see J. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1995).

⁶⁴ See, for example, the reading of "anointing" in 1QIsa^a Isa 52:14 as a tradition known by the author of John 12:1–8 as considered by C. A. Evans, "Obduracy and the Lord's Servant: Some Observations on the Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (ed. C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring, eds.; SBL Homage Series 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 234–35.

⁶⁵ See note 7.

⁶⁶ As presented summarily by C. A. Evans, "From Gospel to Gospel: The Function of Isaiah in the New Testament," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 651–91.

⁶⁷ This example is based upon my study "4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard," DSD 2 (1995): 268–94.

seems to be part of a blessing as M. Baillet originally proposed in DJD 7.⁶⁸ The fragment has more recently been studied further by J. M. Baumgarten who has noted how Isaiah 5 seems to form the basis of the formulation of the blessing.⁶⁹ In line 3 there is mention of the winepress (Isa 5:2) and in line 6 a description concerning the "branches of your delights" (Isa 5:7). Baumgarten has also noted that *Tg. Isa* 5:2 reads: "And I built my sanctuary among them", which may be a later reflection on the building mentioned in 4Q500 1, 3: "your winepress [bui]lt with stones." 4Q500, therefore, almost certainly uses the Isaiah 5 vineyard material in interpretative association with a description of the temple. Other scriptural resonances, such as an allusion to the Garden of Eden, may also be discernible in the interpretative use of Isaiah 5 in 4Q500 and other early Jewish texts.

Does this small fragment assist in the better understanding of the parable of the vineyard in the New Testament (Mark 12:1–12; Matt 21:33–45; Luke 20:9–19)? Briefly put, I think it does. The application of the vineyard imagery in 4Q500 to the temple and the community of Israel should encourage a reading of the New Testament parable that allows even Jesus himself to have been intending the use of Isaiah 5 allegorically. Though many scholars have seen the force of the reconstructed core of the parable to be addressing the issues of election and inheritance in terms of the social and economic circumstances of first century Palestine,⁷⁰ nearly all such interpretations deliberately minimise the place of Isaiah 5 itself (not to say also Psalm 118) in how the parable should be read.

An allegorical reading of the parable takes the modern interpreter away from the need to find a single point of reference, a single purpose to the story. If the vineyard is taken as Jerusalem and its cultic centre, all as Israel in miniature, all of which can be discovered in other early Jewish exegetical sources such as 4Q500, then the parable seems to be about how the leaders of Judaism have abused their privileged role in Jerusalem and its temple, the centre of the worship of God. It is the significance of all that which will be passed to others and around these matters that the issues of election and inheritance in the parable are to be understood. Furthermore, the phrasing of Isaiah 5 in 4Q500 with regard to "building" should encourage modern interpreters to allow that the use of Psalm 118 and its building motif could well have been integral to the telling of the parable from the beginning. Indeed the whole parable seems suitably placed historically and a case for Jesus having said much of it⁷¹ needs to be freshly made.

⁶⁸ M. Baillet, "500. Bénédiction," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III* (4Q482–4Q520) (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 78–79.

⁶⁹ J. M. Baumgarten, "4Q500 and the Lord's Vineyard," *JJS* 40 (1989):1–6.

⁷⁰ See especially M. Hengel, "Das Gleichnis von den Weingärtnern Mc 12 1–12 im Lichte der Zenonpapyri und der rabbinischen Gleichnisse," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 1–39; K. Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants: An Inquiry into Parable Interpretation* (WUNT 27; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983); J. D. Hester, "Socio-Rhetorical Criticism and the Parable of the Tenants," *JSNT* 45 (1992): 27–57.

⁷¹ As was argued, for example, in his classic commentary by V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St Mark* (London: Macmillan, second edition, 1966), 472: "the fundamental parable contains nothing which contradicts the teaching of Jesus."

The exegetical traditions current in Palestine at the time of Jesus such as those discernible in the use of the vineyard of Isaiah 5 in the blessing of 4Q500 do not necessarily provide the sources which Jesus or others used, but they provide us with examples of the richness with which scriptural tradition was handled in the late second temple period. It is surely perilous to divorce Jesus from such exegetical riches within which Isaiah itself plays a significant role.

(2) 4Q385 and the Throne Vision of Revelation⁷²

The second brief example of exegetical activity involving Isaiah in the scrolls and in the New Testament concerns a comparison of the throne vision material in 4Q385 and Revelation 4. Like 4Q500, 4Q385 appears to be a non-sectarian para-biblical composition, part of general Jewish literature of the late second temple period. The editor of the pseudo-Ezekiel material of 4Q385 fragment 6 has pointed out how the retelling of the throne vision there involves phraseology from Ezekiel chapters 1 and 10 as might be expected with regard to the chariot and the four living creatures, as well as other features.⁷³ However, also incorporated into the reworking of the vision is some phrasing which cannot be derived from Ezekiel but which seems to come from Isaiah: **הַדְרֵה הָאֲדָמָה** **עַל שְׁתֵּי תַלְדֵּי**, "upon two each living creature walks" (4Q385 6 7). "This detail is not found in Ezekiel but may derive from the throne vision of Isa 6:2, where the seraphim surrounding the throne have six wings, two for covering their faces, two for covering their feet, and two for flying."⁷⁴

New Testament scholars should not think, then, that the similar combination of Ezekiel 1 and 10 with Isaiah 6 in the description of the throne vision in Revelation 4 is an innovation by the author of Revelation. Rather, the picture of the throne and its four living creatures, each of which has six Isaianic wings (Rev 4:8), together with the use of the trisagion from Isa 6:3 in an adapted and extended form, shows that the author was locking onto and developing in his own way what was probably a widespread early Jewish exegetical tendency, designed in part perhaps to give coherence to visionary experience.

The overall point that emerges from a detailed reconsideration of these two examples is that the use of Isaiah in the New Testament is not straightforward. Apart from the explicit use of quotations which may reflect the tradition of the Septuagint,⁷⁵ New Testament scholars are faced now not only with wondering in some instances about the character of the Greek scriptural text which may be being quoted, but also with having to

⁷² These few comments are based on observations I first made in "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill/Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1993), 317–37.

⁷³ D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 49–51.

⁷⁴ D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, 46.

⁷⁵ For an up-to-date introduction see R. T. McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003).

consider how the implicit use of scripture, including Isaiah, may be mediated through other traditions, most of which are clearly non-sectarian.

III. Conclusion

Through the publication of some brief archival material it is hoped that this presentation has rekindled some of the excitement of working with the Dead Sea Scrolls which those who first worked on them had. In addition, within the information provided here on the range of Isaiah manuscripts found at Qumran, this study has reaffirmed that they do not contain any sectarian variants. I have also indicated that further research needs to be done on the bisection and paragraphing of Isaiah, and on how the adequate description of the transmission of a prophetic book is intertwined with an understanding of its emerging textual stability and authority. Furthermore, the possible way in which the understanding of some sections of Isaiah may have changed from one generation to another within the Qumran community and the movement of which it was a part, provides a suitable backdrop for beginning to appreciate in a subtle and nuanced way how Isaiah was used and transmitted by the New Testament authors and their sources. W. H. Brownlee made significant contributions in most of the areas touched upon in this study, accepting fully the challenge of those manuscripts from the Qumran caves which he had shared in editing.

In the opening paragraph of the section of his book which considers the Great Isaiah scroll from several different angles, Bill Brownlee wrote as follows:

When the news of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls was first disclosed by the American Schools of Oriental Research on April, 10, 1948,⁷⁶ it was pre-eminently the existence of a complete copy of Isaiah from the late second century B.C. which excited the scholarly world. Scholars, to be sure, were interested also in other documents, but here was an astonishing discovery of which one had scarcely dared to dream: that the history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament should in a single leap be carried back a thousand years.⁷⁷

Knowing full well that until the scrolls were found the earliest complete manuscript of Isaiah was early medieval, one of my students once wrote of the Great Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a) along the same lines but somewhat less perceptively: "The Dead Sea Scrolls," he stated, "have set the study of the Bible back by a thousand years"!*

⁷⁶ Coincidentally 55 years to the day before the giving of this lecture on April 10, 2003.

⁷⁷ Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible*, 155.

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